

CIACO NID 81 [REDACTED]

December 26, 1981

POLAND: Jaruzelski's Speech

A conciliatory speech by Premier Jaruzelski on Christmas Eve, promising to preserve the "positive change" of the past year and disavowing any "lowly squaring of accounts," will be greeted by the populace with deep skepticism. TASS English-language transmissions have replayed the address, including its conciliatory sections, in an effort to persuade international opinion that progress is possible under the martial law regime. [REDACTED]

Jaruzelski promised to present a "program of our intentions" soon that may closely resemble the regime's plans during negotiations with Solidarity before the imposition of martial law. Under that earlier plan the regime would retain primary control of decisionmaking after consultation with the public and various interest groups. Without the support of leaders of Solidarity and representatives of the Church, the promised program would have no credibility. [REDACTED]

The Premier did not mention Poland's Communist Party; rather, he pledged to create "institutional guarantees" that the "evils and distortions" of the pre-Solidarity period will not occur again. A high-ranking Yugoslav official, who says he believes Jaruzelski is committed to renewal, claims that the main struggle in Poland now is between the Premier and party dogmatists. This statement may be exaggerated, but serious differences of viewpoint probably exist and are complicating Jaruzelski's completion of his new program. [REDACTED]

Jaruzelski--in contrast to the Soviets--downplayed any foreign responsibility for Poland's crisis. He probably realizes that Western aid is necessary to get the economy working again. His expectations, at the same time, may be modest, judging from his statement that "no one will help Poland out" of its "misfortune." [REDACTED]

Soviet Commentary

The TASS replay today of Jaruzelski's address included those conciliatory aspects dealing with "workers' self-management" and "independent trade unions." The

Approved for Release
Date AUG 1999

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Soviets presumably intend such commentary to drive a wedge between the US and Western Europe and to head off support for the sanctions announced in Washington on Thursday. [REDACTED]

In response to President Reagan's statement, the Soviets are calling the sanctions an attempt to hinder Polish efforts to bring about recovery, but they have made no mention of the threat of sanctions against the USSR as well. The USSR probably is sensitive about the possibility of US sanctions against it in view of those that followed its invasion of Afghanistan two years ago. Personal criticism of the President, however, has been avoided thus far. [REDACTED]

Moscow also is sensitive about being charged with responsibility for the declaration of martial law, and it has struck back with an article in *Pravda* that links Western intelligence services to the "counterrevolutionary" activity in Poland. The CIA is given pride of place in the so-called "antisocialist" campaign, and the article is largely a recitation of familiar Soviet charges against Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The article may be the first of a series aimed at Western Europe portraying the US as involved in an effort to wrench Poland from the "socialist" community. [REDACTED]

Soviet Activity

The status of Soviet forces remains essentially unchanged, with Soviet forces in Poland probably remaining on alert. [REDACTED]

Soviet training activity around Poland appears to [REDACTED] in a routine fashion. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact forces are engaged in routine training activities. [REDACTED]